/394 cont./

*511 592 594 unit of consumption (U. C.) contains a figure indicating how many persons make up the restricted family constituting the nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

●[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P. T. T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 592 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

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*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%
No. 38: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%
No. 40: 2.4%
No. 41: 4.4%
No. 42: 0.5%
No. 43: 5.6%

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%
No. 26: 2.2%
No. 27: 6.1%
No. 28: 1.5%
No. 30: 4.1%
No. 31: 4%
No. 34: 4.3%
No. 35: 3.7%
No. 37: 3.8%
No. 38: 2%
No. 40: 3%
No. 42: 1.7
No. 43: 11.1%

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt Faidherbe,
641 that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also
666 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote
641 was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their
641 mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese
[595] as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as
648 Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

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587 about tribe, the women, who in a Muslim society rarely gained the opportunity of education, tended naturally to be more conservative in such matters. Nevertheless many *originaires* have married outside their ethnic group and can claim to be Senegalese and Senegalese only, for how else, they ask, can they describe themselves when one grandparent is Wolof, another Toucouleur and yet another Serer? This is by no means common in Senegal, but its highest incidence is amongst the most assimilated groups in Senegal.

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587 One of the most difficult barriers to break down in African tribal society is that of the taboo on marriage outside the tribe or clan. Onuora Nzekwu in his *Wand of Noble Wood*
619 gives a very illuminating study of this problem. In Senegal
369 however, there is an exceptionally high rate of inter-ethnic marriage for Africa. Mercier, in his study of Dakar, ob-
W served that the rate of inter-ethnic marriage was below the
582 Senegalese average amongst the Diola, Serer, and Wolof where endogamy is clearest, whilst the Bambaras and groups of the south, and particularly the Lebou who are inter-marrying increasingly with the Wolof, were above the average. Out of 696 monogamous families investigated, 71 per cent had married a woman of the same tribe, but the figure of 29 per cent for mixed marriages must be
S considered extremely high for Africa. Out of 228 polyg-
595 amous families interviewed 43 per cent were all of the same ethnic group but 57 per cent had at least one wife of different ethnic origin. The highest incidence of inter-ethnic marriages in Dakar occurs amongst clerks, administrators,
S employees of commercial houses and the professional classes,
369 i.e. those who have been most affected by French assimilation and for whom ethnic considerations are considerably
S less important than for the peasant, who is so much closer
619 to the traditional concepts of the tribe. There is then in Dakar, and one could apply this to other main towns, a
S significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, though as
369 far as Senegal as a whole is concerned ethnic considerations
582 in marriage are still very important. But the multiplication

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*. 369 563

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition. 467 563

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives. 369 [595] [591] [427]

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the 369 563

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

/673 cont./

representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the a of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

/196 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

> 1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

[12 cont.]

369 178 [584] [681] [562] always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Although this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a [587] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long 369 178 562 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table [191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French. They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution, and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which, within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the [595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [évoluées] women generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination. [598]

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) [592] [594] 621 369*

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. [593] The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship.

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/22 cont./ 369x
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic [595]
groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of rela- 369x
tives making up a single household is very variable. We have 592
defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons [104]
living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting
together at least a part of their resources.

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the [589]
case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common
funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers,
but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to
now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited [125]
to the permanent population. The elements relating to the
composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost
exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On
the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain [595]
number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place;
each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household,
which other members of the kinship group eventually come to
join; the head of the family passes from one household to another
(1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

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Dakar

/27 cont./
daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered.

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1),

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material

2. It is obviously limited by the

17: Mercier--31 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
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demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]

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[162]

employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

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(tables on following pages)

/32 cont./ 369x 592

-- September: the brother of the family head, an itinerant merchant, settled in Dakar for six weeks; he was not entirely dependent on his brother;

-- October: the son of a uterine cousin of the family head was entrusted to him for the school year: he is not entirely dependent on his relative;

-- December: two cousins who work seasonally in Dakar came from the region of the river; the first found work and was laid off in March, but he stayed until May; the second only did occasional work and left in April; they were both dependent on their relative for at least a third of their stay.

One thus sees how the exercise of diverse obligations stemming from kinship ties caused the size of the family to vary in the course of the year. The number of adults living entirely or partially on one salary went from a minimum of three to a maximum of five.

/33/ b) The second family is Lebou. It consists permanently of the husband, one of his two wives, her two children (the second wife, with her two children, lives in another sector of the same quarter), a uterine nephew, and a sister of the wife. The following changes were noted during this period (not including the many, very short visits of relatives living in the area of Rufisque): [595]

-- September: the younger brother of the family head returns, his military service completed; he will not find work until March and moreover will continue to live with his brother; until then, there will be only one salary.

-- December: the second wife leaves for a stay with her relatives and leaves her eldest son, a schoolboy, in the care of her co-wife; this does not in fact represent an increase in burden; [595]

-- February: after the death of their father, the young brother of the wife joins her.

One has had then, during this period, at first three and

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/33 cont./

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries. 369x 592

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594] in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to re- [182] treat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [602] broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595] at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182] The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.